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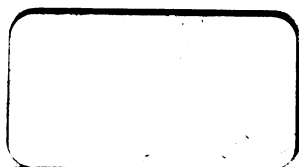
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# ADDRESSES

DELIVERED BEFORE THE

Vermont Historical Society,

IN THE

REPRESENTATIVES' HALL, MONTPELIER,

OCTOBER 16, 1866.

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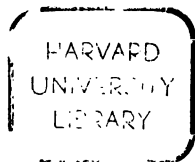
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IN HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, OCT. 18, 1866.

MR. ROSS, of St. Johnsbury, offered the following resolution, which was read and adopted on the part of the House :

*Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives, That the Secretary of the Senate and Clerk of the House be directed to procure to be printed for the use of the General Assembly, one thousand copies of the addresses by Senator Edmunds, and others, before the Vermont Historical Society, on Tuesday evening the 16th inst.*

JOHN H. FLAGG, *Clerk.*

IN SENATE, OCT. 18, 1866.

Adopted in concurrence.

HENRY CLARK, *Secretary of Senate.*

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# THE LIFE, CHARACTER AND SERVICES OF SOLOMON FOOT.

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BY HON. GEO. F. EDMUNDS, U. S. SENATOR.

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*Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Society:*

THE quality of mind which we call curiosity, is one whence springs many of our greatest achievements. It is the search on which the visible and apparent present sends the mind back over the mighty past for the causes and antecedents that have, through channels and by processes more or less direct, but always logical, produced the results which engage our wonder, our admiration, or our dislike, as the case may be. The fuel it has furnished has kindled the fires of all invention, and has brought to their present wonderful and almost miraculous state of advancement, many of those sciences and arts most useful, practically, to men. And it has no less operated beneficially in presenting to each succeeding age and generation, the lives and peculiarities of notable men of times past, whose characters have in greater or less degree impressed themselves upon the growth of society, and so transfused them into the very life of after times.

From fountains thus unsealed, the historian deduces the principles of moral and political economies; and the just ambition of those who aspire to greatness, beholds the processes and the causes—always in the main constant—which have led men to success, or driven them to failure.

Not only, then, as a sweet tribute of respect to those who have worthily filled exalted stations among us, but as a means of positive good to society in the respects I have mentioned, do we turn on fit occasions, to gratify our curiosity in respect to their lineage and lives, and to trace their acted and completed parts on that great stage of the world, where "all the men and women are players."

In this spirit, therefore, I lay before the society some of the facts, incidents, and characteristics relating to the late Hon. SOLOMON FOOT, with such brief notice of current events as elucidates them.

The subject of this paper was descended from English ancestors who emigrated to this country, and settled in Weathersfield, Conn., early in the seventeenth century.

From this stock has sprung a most numerous posterity; numbering, as appears from the book of the Foote Genealogy, in 1849, more than three thousand persons.

An amusing record respecting one of his ancestors exists in the early archives of New Haven. It states that

"At a County Court holden at New Haven, Aug. "4, 1702, Sergeant Nathaniel Foote, of Brandford

"appearing by summons to this court, to answer the  
"presentment and complaint of the grand jury against  
"him for hiring his negro servant Cush to set in Mr.  
"Malthie's pew on the first Sabbath, which they judge  
"to be contrary to religion and profanation of the  
"Sabbath."

Sergeant Foote pleaded not guilty, and it was postponed for trial. No further entry appears.

Thus, at that early day, the status of the negro was an "apple of discord," as it is now ; and it was "contrary to religion" that he should sit in Mr. Malthie's pew, at least on the "*first* Sabbath."

That grand jury, no doubt, got their law from a very early English case, in which it was decided that the action of trover would lie for the conversion of a number of negroes, the court saying that had they been christians no action could be maintained for them; but inasmuch as they appeared to be infidels, and the subjects of an infidel prince, the court gave judgment for the plaintiff.

The family spread over Connecticut and Massachusetts, and Dr. Solomon Foot, the father, removed to Cornwall in this State in 1792, where the subject of this notice was born on the 15th day of November, A. D. 1802. His parents were persons of staid and highly respectable character, fair examples of the Vermont citizen. From them Mr. Foot received those earliest impressions, which generally, or frequently, become the basis of the traits of character which we often class as in the nature of instincts.

The father died in 1811, leaving the young boy to the sole charge of his mother, who is said to have been

a woman of great kindness of heart and of highly prudent judgment. Under her care and instruction he passed several of those forming years—if I may so call them,—in that life which almost every one of those here present knows so well—and which we all look back upon, through whatever lights or glooms surround our lives, with fondest recollections—the sweet, hopeful, visionary life of a country boy. Then the bountiful face of nature smiled upon us like a mother and a playmate ; then the opening studies and reflections of our young lives wore, all of them, the white robes of truth and beauty ; then the present was one round joy, and the future was seen only through gateways of gold.

From that distant point the lad saw, in his young ambition, over a space of thirty years, his own place in the National Congress, and accounted for his temporary neglect of work upon a farm where he was employed, by replying, when asked what he was thinking about, that he was thinking what he should do when he should come to be a Member of Congress.

At the early age of fifteen he began his regular studies preparatory to a college course, under the instruction of Dr. Carpenter of Whiting, looking with that intuitive judgment in this respect so common to all boys—and which sometimes outruns their fathers—upon learning and education as the only sure means to power and usefulness in whatever sphere of life he might be placed.

The following winter (1818,) he taught a common school in one of the back districts of Crown Point, N. Y. Here, amid embarrassments encountered

among people in humble circumstances, he prosecuted the study of Latin and Greek, aided only by his grammars and lexicons and his own perseverance. I am informed on the best authority, that the good people among whom he "boarded round" were much exercised at these studies, and not knowing the character or the sounds thereof, thought he was certainly reviving the black art, or some other fearful evil.

The following year he entered Newton Academy, and continued his studies under Dr. Dewey, (now of Moriah, N. Y.,) who says that he remembers him as a young man of fine abilities, very studious, and one that seldom laughed or indulged in merriment.

He entered Middlebury College at the age of nineteen, the intervening time having been spent in studying, teaching, and preparing himself for the manly struggles of life.

He graduated with honor in 1826, and immediately became Preceptor of Castleton Academy. After a year spent in this labor, he received the high compliment—not being an alumnus of that institution—of being appointed a tutor in the University of Vermont. After a year spent there, preferring a more active life, he returned to the Castleton Academy, where he continued its Principal until 1831,—meanwhile studying law, and devoting himself, with his characteristic earnestness and energy, to the strengthening of the school, and the erection of a spacious and handsome Academy building in that charming village.

He was admitted to the bar in Rutland County in 1831, and established himself in practice at Rutland.



He was now to begin the chosen business of his life. All that had gone before was only preliminary and incidental, bridging over the period that many who now hear me know well must be so passed, when there is no hereditary patrimony wherewith to meet the expenses of education and preparation for a start at the bar.

His characteristics, thus far in his course, had been those which more generally produce success and usefulness, than the greatest genius, the finest wit, or the profoundest learning. They had been an unvarying gentleness of disposition and demeanor, an untarnished private life and character—tainted by no vice or suspicion,—and a steadfast persistence in the course of life he had adopted.

The Supreme Court at that period was composed of Chief Justice Hutchinson, and Justices Williams, Royce, Baylies and Phelps—names, most of them, redolent of fame, and which have shed a lustre of renown, unexcelled in any State, upon the Bench of Vermont, and have given law not only to Vermont, but have contributed largely to the jurisprudence of the whole nation.

The Bar, which had produced such Judges, was unexhausted of its strength. There were Fletcher and Mattocks, Aldis and Adams, Allen and Marsh, Bates and Chipman, Clark and Royce, Bennett and Aiken, Bradley and Kellogg, Collamer and Cushman, Hebard and Buck, Redfield and Upham, Tracy, Peck and Dillingham, and numerous other strong men, who had either achieved a reputation, or were fighting their way to it.

Into this arena Mr. Foot entered and soon attained a position, and reaped the harvest of success.

Without full means of forming an accurate judgment, I think I may say, that he was more distinguished as a jury advocate than in the trial of cases reserved.

In the former, his fine personal presence, his universal popularity, and his simple earnestness and truth, could not fail to impress a jury most favorably. And in the latter, his cases were always well and industriously prepared, and his arguments forcible. But I do not think he possessed, in the highest degree, that aggressive intellectual combativeness, and analytical subtlety of mind, which, fortified by learning, has produced the greatest lawyers.

But this is not, perhaps, the place to discuss at large the philosophy or the romance of the law. Suffice it to say that success in it is, in general, as in all other pursuits, attained only by devotion to its studies and attention to its duties in the outset, and so thenceforward. Mr. Foot so attained it. The great Mr. Justice Buller, when in mature life he cautioned a youth of sixteen against being led astray by the example of others, said, looking back with pardonable complacency to his own fortitude: "If I had listened to the advice of some of those who called themselves my friends when I was young, instead of being a Judge of the King's Bench, I should have died long ago a prisoner in the King's Bench Prison."

In 1832, the rising young lawyer espoused with great enthusiasm the cause of Henry Clay as a candidate for the Presidency, and prepared the able

address issued by a Convention held at Montpelier, to the freemen of Vermont upon that subject. He thus entered upon political life with that party which has, with most rare intervals, been composed of the large majority of the citizens of Vermont, and the legitimate progress and growth of whose principles has ever since opposed a bulwark against interference with the largest personal liberty and equality, as well as against the latitudinarian and separatist doctrines of what was called democracy.

In those days a hollow truce had been concluded by the Missouri Compromise, between Liberty and Slavery, and the "irrepressible conflict of opposing civilizations" had been thus postponed until a later day.

But the theories of government, identical with the one side or the other of that great question, thus left to smolder for a mighty conflagration, were in active contest.

On one side, based upon the grand idea that the people were, under the Constitution, nationalized, and that the interest of the whole was the interest of every part, were the doctrines of a protective tariff, whence only could come the largest development of our resources, a national currency regulated by the national law and the national necessities, and a system of internal improvements whereby easy and constant intercommunication between remote parts of the country, should make the people homogeneous, and identify their interests and feelings.

On the other side were the opposite doctrines of free trade,—the selfish scheme of that class whose

occupation it was to import foreign merchandise to sell, and of that other class which enjoyed, it is thought, the kingly monopoly of producing cotton and tobacco for sale in foreign markets,—and the high State rights' doctrine of local currency, and commercial regulations and means of transit. The basis of these latter doctrines was a professed jealousy of centralized power. But the *real* controversy was logically the same as that which culminated in a rebellion, and a national victory; the fair fruits of which, after a thirty years' struggle, some people, it is said, are seriously disposed to turn over to the enemy.

As a member, then, of the whig party, Mr. Foot accepted its principles with real faith, and defended and propogated them with all his power,—standing by them and their legitimate outgrowth, with an unswerving fidelity to the end of his life.

In 1833, he was elected to the legislature, by the people of Rutland. He was again elected in 1836. In that same year, also, he was a member of the constitutional convention which abolished the governor's council and established the Senate, a change now generally conceded to have been an eminently wise one, but which met with great opposition, and was entered upon with much misgiving. Mr. Foot was among the foremost advocates of the measure, and contributed as largely, perhaps, as any one man to its success.

In 1837 and 1838, he was again a member of the House, and its Speaker.

The duties of this office he discharged with admirable ease, dignity and correctness, so that he

became, in the minds of the members, the model of a good Speaker.

In 1839 he married Miss Emily Fay, daughter of the late William Fay, of Rutland. This estimable lady, however, soon died, and he afterwards married Mrs. Anna Dana, daughter of the late Henry Hodges, of Clarendon, in whose congenial society, surrounded by all that could make life happy, he passed the remainder of his days.

In the great political revolution of 1840, Mr. Foot, in common with his party, supported Harrison and Tyler, who were elected.

The whig party, then long in an apparently hopeless minority, had seen the government so conducted as to bring distress upon all the producing interests of the country, and ruin upon its citizens engaged in manufacturing. The public finances were in a state of utter derangement, and political corruption was coming to be looked upon by many as an amiable weakness rather than crime.

From its chronic weakness in the Southern States, the leaders of the whig party should have known that there was a fixed logical cause for its unpopularity there, in the fact, as the highly cultivated and far-seeing southern statesmen saw, that its legitimate tendencies were hostile to the institution of slavery; and they, in selecting candidates for the chief offices in the nation, should have been sure that their leading and controlling political principles were sound, and were not a mere temporary spasm of sense and virtue, produced by current events.

But blind to those considerations and seduced by the cry of expediency, the party nominated Mr. Tyler on the ticket with Gen. Harrison, and the whigs went "for Tyler, therefore, without a why or wherefore." But General Harrison had scarcely assumed the reins of government ere he died, and Mr. Tyler came to the office of President, and the party that had elected him found itself betrayed and rendered perfectly powerless to put in operation the principles upon which it had carried the elections.

In this state of parties and politics, Mr. Foot entered Congress, taking his seat with his eminent colleagues, Collamer, Dillingham and Marsh, on the fourth day of December, 1843.

His first act (aside from voting) was to present a petition from his constituents, praying for a practical recognition of the Vermont doctrine of protection of American producers against the unfriendly and ruinous competition of foreign nations.

He served through both the sessions of that Congress on the then important committee on Indian Affairs.

His first speech was delivered on the fourth day of June, 1844, on the political principles of the whig party, defending them as essential to the welfare of the country, and prophesying their ultimate adoption, although then thwarted by the adverse circumstances I have named.

In the twenty-ninth Congress he again served on the committee on Indian Affairs.

In this Congress he gave active support to the whig side of the great questions then pending, namely, the

admission of Texas, the Mexican war and the Oregon boundary question.

On the sixth of February, 1846, he made an elaborate speech on the latter topic, characterized by logical clearness of statement and conclusion, and by high rhetorical taste. In the course of it he eloquently vindicated the people of Vermont from the aspersions of Mr. Chipman, of Michigan, who was himself a Vermonter by birth, and administered the following castigation to his opponent :

"I trust, Mr. Chairman, that I have an ample  
"apology for this digression, in alluding to my native State, and briefly vindicating the character  
"of her people, in the attempt which was made  
"some days ago to cast a sneer, an aspersion, upon  
"her, by one of her own sons upon this floor.—  
"I have only to say, in reply to that attempt, that he  
"who has the taste and the heart to illegitimize his  
"own birth, so far as to repudiate his parentage,  
"commends himself less to the rebuke than to the  
"commiseration of his friends; and, while I trust that  
"Vermont has but *one* son who would make it a  
"virtue publicly to avow it a misfortune to him, that  
"he was born upon her soil, I am quite sure she has  
"*but one* son who could utter the unnatural sentiment,  
"without mortification or reproach to her."

On the sixteenth of July, 1846, in addressing the House on the Mexican war, replying to the arguments of the friends of the president, that Congress ought not to bring into judgment the acts of the Executive, he defended the constitutional rights of the representatives of the people in this fine specimen of genuine, earnest American eloquence:

"I have," he said, "no sympathy with the sentiment which has been uttered on this floor, that we ought not to condemn the acts of the administration relative to the war, for the reason assigned by its defenders, that its tendency will be to paralyze the arm of the executive government. Sir, I repudiate and reject this vile and infamous sentiment as an attempt to revive here the anti-republican and odious doctrine of monarchists, that 'the king can do no wrong.' If the President of the United States shall transcend his constitutional authority, and causelessly involve his country in the calamity of war, are we to be told that no voice of warning or rebuke is to be heard? When the great high priest of our political church shall be rushing to the temple of liberty with blazing torch in hand to fire its sacred altars, are we to be told that no arm must be raised to stay the impending desecration? Go, with such doctrines as these, to the crawling and cringing serfs of the rotten and crumbling despotisms of the Old World. They are unfit to be uttered in the legislative halls of a free Republic. They are unfit to be addressed to an American citizen, claiming the right and exercising the privileges, and standing up in the bearing and dignity of an American freeman."

And again, on the 10th of February, 1847, speaking of an intimation in a message of a former Tennessee President, Mr. Polk, that those members of Congress, who censured the conduct of the Executive in carrying on the war, were guilty of constructive treason, he said:

"Where does he find authority or precedent for sending into these legislative halls a bulletin of denunciation against any portion of the American people, or their representatives, who may have formed and expressed opinions not in conformity with such as he professes to entertain?"



"When the chief magistrate of this Republic shall become so far unmindful of the dignity and proprieties of his station as to assume the character of a volunteer accuser of his fellow citizens \* \* \* for no other cause than that they have the intelligence to form, and the independence to speak their opinions, \* \* \* how shall the audacious insult be met? Shall it be received with silent, trembling submission? Shall it be received with acquiescence, or even with gracious words of remonstrance? Or shall it not rather be met with that prompt and bold rebuke, with that scornful defiance which alone becomes the action and the character of free born men!"

These sentiments are not without their application to affairs at the present day, when the constitutional rights, and even the regular existence of Congress, are assailed and questioned by the same party who then, as now, upheld executive usurpation, and whose present head and leader was then a Member of Congress from Tennessee, and voting in opposition to Mr. Foot.

Thus history renews itself, "swinging round the circle" of events, but leaving still, we are sure, the spirit of the constitution, the spirit of universal justice, security, and civil and political equality, with the people.

Time does not permit me here to review the history of those momentous events. The disorders of the present period are their logical consequents, and teach us how to go to the bottom of the evil before we fancy that a cure is effected.

In these Congresses the contemporaries of Mr. Foot were Hamlin, Winthrop, Adams, Hale, King, Wise, Rhett, Stephens, Garrett Davis, Vinton, Giddings

Douglas, Jacob Thompson, Toombs, and Andrew Johnson of Tennessee.

Among such associates and rivals, he acted with honor to himself and to his State, and although not endowed with all the qualities of a great leader, he had none of the vices which too often disfigure the characters of such men. Always courteous, patient and industrious, he far excelled, in usefulness and solid merit, many who bore parts more conspicuous and commanding.

He declined an election to the 30th Congress, and resumed the practice of his profession at Rutland. In the same year he was again a member of the Legislature, and was again the Speaker of the House, bringing to the discharge of the delicate and onerous duties of that important station, the same pre-eminent qualities that afterwards distinguished him as President *pro tempore* of the Senate of the United States.

From that time until he was elected a Senator in Congress in the fall of 1850, he successfully pursued the practice of the law, strengthening his hold upon the good will of the people by the diligence and integrity of his professional career, and by the purity of his private life.

He took his seat as Senator from Vermont, in the thirty-second Congress, in December, 1851, his colleague being, then, the late Hon. Mr. Upham; while, on the roll of the Senate, were the now famous names of Clay, Douglas, Cass, Houston, Sumner, Wade, and Seward, and another name, not famous, J. Davis of Mississippi. During this session of Congress I find no record of his entering into debate, but he appears

to have served industriously on the Committee on Pensions; and with his constant fidelity to principle, and faithfulness to the sentiments of his constituents, on the 29th of March, 1852, he voted with the small band of disciples of liberty and progress, Dodge of Wisconsin, Hale, Seward, Sumner, and Wade, against the intolerant and tyrannical democratic majority, which determined to lay upon the table, without reference or debate, a respectful petition of American citizens, praying that some measure might be inaugurated looking to the extinction of slavery.

During the second session of that Congress he served on the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, and also on that on Revolutionary Claims.

His first speech in the Senate was during that session, (Jan. 15, 1853,) on the death of Senator Upham. I have only space to quote one passage, which illustrates as well the simplicity and good taste that almost always characterized his rhetoric, as his discriminative judgment upon the true republican grounds of individual success. He said:

"Mr. Upham was emphatically the artificer of his own fortunes. He owed nothing to the factitious circumstances of wealth or patronage. He rose to his high position by his own energies, his own unaided efforts; thus furnishing another and beautiful illustration of the operation of the genius of our institutions, in that they open the pathway to station and honor alike to all; and no favorites are recognized, other than the votaries at the shrine of justice, of honor, and of patriotism."

From this time forward he began to engage more prominently in the affairs of the Senate, carrying, in 1851, bills for the erection of the Custom-House at Burlington, and the Court-Houses at Windsor and Rutland, as well as for the most useful and philanthropic object of providing a grant of ten million acres of the public lands for asylums for the indigent insane. This last measure met the fate, which in late years too often overtakes acts in aid of the suffering and down-trodden. It was vetoed by President Pierce.

Reviewing the veto message, in a speech on the third of May, 1854, he said, with a most just appreciation of the true constitutional office of the executive veto :

"So far as the simple question of the policy or expediency of a measure is concerned, it belongs properly—I will not say exclusively—to the legislative department; that, except in rare and peculiar cases, it furnishes no justifiable consideration for the interposition of the negative power of the executive. The exercise of this remnant of despotic power ought rarely to be resorted to, and then only in cases of hasty and inconsiderate legislation, and in cases of flagrant and palpable injustice, and in cases of manifest infraction of the constitution."

During the second session of the thirty-third Congress he served on the committee on Public Lands, Pensions, and Contingent Expenses; and he exerted himself with his usual vigor to procure legislation needful for his constituents.

On the bill, providing for an improvement of the breakwater at Burlington, his speech had more than a

local bearing, as it rested upon those broad and beneficent principles of political economy relating to internal improvements, out of which, in one form or another, although always, until lately, opposed by the democratic party, has grown much of the material prosperity, and consolidated unity of the people of the free states.

In the same session, he urged upon Congress the justice and propriety of providing a bounty to the volunteers in the war of 1812, basing his argument upon the same principles which have given to the heroic citizen soldiery, who, in the late war of the rebellion, gave up, with enthusiastic patriotism and alacrity, the occupations of peace, and the endearments of home and family, to assert, with their manhood and their lives, the indivisible nationality of the government, some slight tokens of the gratitude of that government which they have saved and redeemed to its original theory of justice, liberty and equal rights. In the course of his remarks, on moving an amendment to the regular bounty bill, providing for the Plattsburgh volunteers, he said:

"It (the original bill) excludes those volunteers  
"who have rushed to the rescue of the country at the  
"time of pressing emergency and impending danger,  
"as did the volunteers at the battle of Plattsburgh.  
"The farmers left their harvest in the field; all classes  
"of people left their employment and their homes, and  
"went to the scene of danger and of conflict, \* \* \*  
"and the victory was won, and the fortunes of that  
"day were saved to the country by those very volunteers.  
"These volunteers rendered quite as signal and  
"important service to the country, as many a regular,  
"who has been paid by the United States."

In the thirty-fourth Congress, he again pressed the claims of the volunteers in the war of 1812; and, with signal ability, he maintained the right of a gallant officer, a son of Vermont, (Gen. B. S. Roberts,) to the honor of first planting the American flag upon the batteries of the Garita, and upon the citadel of Mexico. He said, what is as true now of the soldier who made sacrifices and gained glory in recent battle-fields, as it was then:

"But, sir, his professional reputation belongs not to himself alone; it belongs not to his family alone; it belongs to the country, and emphatically to the State which gave him his birth and his education, and is, in a measure, committed to the keeping of the representatives from that State. Vermont, sir, shed too much blood upon the battle-fields of Mexico; too many of her youthful sons were left upon its plains, and among its mountain passes, to allow her to be unmindful of the reputation of those who survive. She made a costly sacrifice to the spirit of that war, when her gallant and accomplished Ransom fell before the walls of Chapultepec. It shall not be laid to my charge if she makes a greater sacrifice by neglecting to vindicate the well-earned reputation of any of her surviving sons."

In the spring of 1856 came on the Kansas question, which marked another era in the swift progress of events towards the great maelstrom of rebellion. I am informed by Senator Pomeroy, of that State, that Mr. Foot engaged actively in that contest on the side of freedom, and that he rendered most efficient aid in the admission of the young State, with a free constitution, but I do not find in the Congressional debates any speeches of his on that subject reported.

In the same Congress he participated effectively in the debates on the Central American question, opposing the claims of Great Britain to the Mosquito Territory, and insisted upon her leaving that country and giving up her protectorate over it, with a vigor and pertinacity that the present administration, it is to be hoped, will imitate in respect to the French in Mexico.

In the thirty-fifth Congress he served on the Committee on Foreign Relations. He advocated the construction, by government aid, of a railroad to the Pacific coast, on the route of Gov. Stevens' survey, now known as the northern route; and he opposed the project then advanced for the acquisition of Cuba; and in a speech equal, I think, to any of his efforts, defended the conduct of Commodore Paulding in the arrest of the fillibuster, William Walker.

In the thirty-sixth Congress he was a member of the Committee on Claims, and his name is connected with much routine legislation.

In the thirty-seventh Congress, which assembled July 4th, 1861, in special session, on account of the rebellion, he served on the very important Committee on Naval Affairs, with Hale, Grimes and Sherman, and was also Chairman of the Committee on Public Buildings, but having on the nineteenth of July been unanimously elected President of the Senate, *pro tempore*, his labors were necessarily devoted to the highly responsible duties of that office, although he devoted much time to the business of the Committee on Public Buildings, of which he continued to be Chairman until his death.

At the third session of the thirty-seventh Congress, he was again unanimously elected to preside in the Senate. And in the discharge of the duties of the Chair, he displayed a dignity, promptness, urbanity and ability, which have seldom been equalled, and never excelled.

In this and the succeeding Congresses until he died, although he did not enter much into debate, his name is connected in the proceedings with many of the leading measures made necessary by the rebellion, and almost always on the side of the majority, although, with the true spirit of a Vermonter and an honest man, he did not fear or hesitate, when he thought an administration measure to be clearly wrong, to oppose it, and vote against it, as in the case of the legal tender act, and some others.

Among his last speeches in the Senate was one delivered on the 12th day of January, 1865, in favor of terminating the Reciprocity Treaty with Great Britain. It was brief, but cogent and forcible, and had, as I am told, much effect in the abrogation of the Treaty.

Aside from his senatorial duties he was a prominent delegate to the Union Republican Convention of 1864, which re-nominated Mr. Lincoln, and nominated Mr. Johnson for the Vice Presidency, and he was an ardent advocate of the latter to succeed Mr. Hamlin. It was one of the few serious mistakes of his lifetime, but he lived long enough to regret it. Early in March, 1866, when confined to his house by the illness which resulted in his death, and when many still hoped that the President would yet prove his fidelity to the



principles upon which he was elected, as declared and expounded by his own lips, Mr. Foot said to a friend who had called to see him:

"There is nothing to be hoped for from the President; he has deserted his principles, and turned his back upon the only men to whom he owed any gratitude, and has relapsed into the arms of the party which has opposed the Government throughout the war. The only safety of the nation is in the Senate and House of Representatives. Even out of this gloomy period of discouragement, as great as any since the war began, if they stand firm, we shall come purified and victorious. But I am depressed by it more than I can tell you."

He never again entered the Senate Chamber, where he had so long and well labored and presided, until his body was borne thither by his associates, to receive the last sad honors due to his pure and useful life, and his exalted station.

On the 28th day of March, 1866, after a service of fifteen years in the Senate, he died, surrounded by his relatives and friends, and sustained and soothed by all the consolations of religion.

There are many passages of his life worthy of commemoration, which the time properly devoted to notices of this character does not allow me to refer to. It has been my purpose rather to bring to your attention the leading events of his life, and of the times in which he bore a part, so that "the hour and the man" might, as they fitly should, reciprocally illustrate each other.

A living French writer, profoundly versed in the philosophy of politics, and remarkable (when it so pleases him,) for the clearness of his ideas, says: "Historic truth ought to be no less sacred than religion. If the precepts of faith raise our souls above the interests of this world, the lessons of history in their turn inspire us with the love of the beautiful and the just, and the hatred of whatever presents an obstacle to the progress of humanity. These lessons, to be profitable, require certain conditions. It is necessary that the facts be produced with rigorous exactness, that the changes, political or social, be analyzed philosophically, that the exciting interest of the details of the lives of public men should not divert attention from the political part they played, or cause us to forget their providential mission."

Guided by these evident truths, it remains to estimate with critical justness, no less than with affectionate remembrance, the character and career of Mr. Foot. For our duties now are historic purely. The solemn and imposing pageant of the burial is past. The voices of Divines, and Senators, and Representatives, have been heard in eulogies such as can be bestowed only upon few men. He now takes his place in history, among the heroes and worthies who have been the creators of history, and surrounded with an array of great events, profoundly significant of the progress of the human race.

"In the birth of societies," says Montesquieu, "it is the chiefs of the republics who form the institutions, and in the sequel it is the institutions which form the chiefs of the republic."

Mr. Foot, I think, occupied a middle place among such chiefs. He was not in the high, grand sense, a leader or chief, nor was he on the other hand (as many men in high stations are,) the mere creature of circumstance, floating upon the tide of public affairs.

He had not those indescribable resources of character to which we give the name of genius. But he was free, too, from those impracticable fancies which frequently deprive genius of all its utility. He had none of that truckling subserviency which will sometimes barter a permanent good for a temporary triumph. He never sold the truth to save the hour.

But, to a plain, strong intellect, he added the improvements of considerable learning, of cultivation, of discipline, and a constant and industrious aim at excellence in all his acts. With a purity of heart and sweetness and generosity of disposition, as charming as it is rare, he entered upon the performance of all his duties, whether of friendship, in his profession, or of State, with a vigorous and hearty good will that was a sure and just guaranty of success and popularity. He did not initiate revolutions or reforms, but in the shuffling scenes of the drama of life he was always in his proper place, and he always performed his part, and never overacted.

“When workmen strive to do better than well,  
They do confound their skill in covetousness.”

This he did not do, but he did not fail in all his life of varied employment, school-boy, student, teacher, lawyer, legislator, to reach and maintain a high

standard of excellence; and he justly excited, by these qualities of mind and heart, and by his unblemished private life, the *affectionate* admiration and esteem of all classes of people. And thus he passes into history with the loving remembrance of his friends, of his State, and of his country, who will associate his worthy name with all the amenities of intercourse, and with the onward progress of the great events of his time.

In his allotted place, he makes up one of the great company of men, whose lives have been bright examples for our admiration and imitation. We trace the history of the farmer's boy, or the mechanic's son, up the rugged steep of fortune, and rejoice over the course (our country's republican glory,) of the poor doctor's self-reliant son, working his way alone to the height of civil greatness,—teaching the valuable lesson, fraught with courage and constancy to every calling, that neither humbleness of birth, nor absence of fortune, nor distance of opportunity, is sufficient to curb the expanding force of talent and persisting industry, armed and purified by virtue. But, as the high counsel

*“Tu ne cede malis sed contra audentior ito,”*

could be addressed to the true mariner only, it is the brave and patient alone who can profit by such examples.

## NOTE

*To the statement on page twenty-three, as to the nomination of Vice President Johnson.*

This statement, the writer has since learned, is not perfectly correct. Mr. Foot, in a conversation with the writer, prior to the convention, was understood to state that he was in favor of the nomination of Mr. Johnson. But it appears from the statements of Hons. E. P. Walton and A. B. Gardner, who were members of the convention, that Mr. Foot voted first for Mr. Hamlin, and would have voted next for Mr. Dickinson, had not the general current so set towards Mr. Johnson as to make it useless.

## JONAS GALUSHA: THE FIFTH GOVERNOR OF VERMONT.

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BY REV. PLINY H. WHITE.

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THE GALUSHA FAMILY is one of the oldest in New England. Early in the seventeenth century, Jacob Galusha, when about eight years old, was abducted from Wales by persons interested in an estate to which he was likely to become an heir. He was sent to New England, settled near Plymouth, Mass., and became the ancestor of a numerous family. He had two sons, Jacob and Daniel. Daniel, the younger of them, had three sons, Jacob, Daniel and Jonas. Jacob married Lydia Huntington, daughter of Matthew Huntington of Preston, Ct., and a relative of Gov. Samuel Huntington. He was a farmer and blacksmith, in moderate circumstances, but of unblemished character, sound judgment, and much native shrewdness. They had five sons, the third of whom, Jonas, afterwards governor of Vermont, was born in Norwich, Ct. 11 February 1753.\* When he was less than three

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\* Jacob Galusha had four wives. By the first, Lydia Huntington, he had five sons, David, Jacob, Jonas, Amos, and Elijah; and four daughters, Mary, Olive, Lydia, and Anne. By the second, Thankful King, he had one daughter, Lucy. By the third, Desire (Andrus) Metcalf, he had four sons, Daniel, Benjamin, Ezra, and Elias; and two daughters, Desire and Sally. By his fourth wife, Abigail Foster, he had no children. She was a woman of great strength and longevity. In her 80th year she was baptized by immersion and joined the Baptist Church in Shaftsbury, Vt., and when ninety years old, she rode in a wagon fifty miles in a day with no serious inconvenience. With reference to the temper and disposition of his four wives, Mr. Galusha remarked, in his shrewd way:—"I have been twice in heaven, once on earth, and once in hell."

years old, he fell into a small pond of water, near which he, with his brothers and sisters, had been playing, and remained in the water till his sister Mary ran a quarter of a mile and called the father, who came, rescued him from the water, and succeeded in restoring him.

In 1769, Jacob Galusha and his family removed to Salisbury, Ct., and thence in the spring of 1775, to Shaftsbury, Vt. \* None of his sons had received any education, except the very limited one that was afforded by the common schools of that period; but their strength of mind and energy of character soon made them leading men in the town, and to some extent in the State. David, the eldest of the brothers, was the representative of Shaftsbury in 1779. Jacob, the second, was elected town clerk in 1784, and held the office forty-one years. He was also justice of the peace for a long term, and the representative of Shaftsbury, for ten consecutive years, 1801-1811. † Amos, the fourth, served in the revolutionary army, and, during the administrations of Jefferson and Madison, rendered them very efficient support by his contributions to the periodical press. ‡

Soon after his removal to Shaftsbury, Jonas Galusha set up a shop for making nails, and also carried on a farm for his brother David. He became at length a farmer on his own account, and pursued that employment through life, except as he was withdrawn from it by official engagements. Possessing a strong

\* It is worthy of remark, that several of the most distinguished early families of Vermont, including, besides the Galushas, the Allens, Chipmans, and Chittendens, were emigrants from Salisbury.

† He was born 8 January 1751, and died 25 July 1834.

‡ He died about 1840. Elijah, the youngest brother, married Beulah, daughter of Governor Thomas Chittenden, but lost his life within a year or two by an accidental injury in a sawmill at Arlington. He left one son. His widow married Col. Matthew Lyon.

constitution and vigorous physical powers, he was able, even to advanced age, to do the full work of a man, with hoe, scythe, sickle, or axe, and never required any of his laborers to go beyond what he himself did. Notwithstanding his constant employment on the farm, he found opportunity to add to his stock of knowledge by reading, and to cultivate practical wisdom by observation and reflection.

When the revolutionary struggle commenced, he took an active part in favor of the independence of the colonies. He was a member of a company, commanded by his brother David, in Col. Seth Warner's regiment of Green Mountain Boys, and did service in Canada in the fall of 1775. Prior to the battle of Bennington, 16 August 1777, two companies of militia had been organized in Shaftsbury, one of them under his captaincy, the other under that of Amos Huntington; but Captain Huntington being taken prisoner at Ticonderoga, the two companies were consolidated under Capt. Galusha. When he received orders from Col. Moses Robinson to march his company to Bennington, he was sick in bed, recovering from a fever, but he promptly called out his men and led them to the scene of action.

On the day of the battle, his company had occasion, on account of a bend in the Walloomsac River, to ford the river twice, on their way to attack Baum's rear. He was so weak that, at the first crossing, a soldier insisted upon carrying him over, but excitement gave him such strength that he crossed the second ford without assistance, and was in the hottest of the battle during the rest of the day. After Baum



was defeated, and the victors were resting from their fatigue, or were scattered about the field, gathering up the spoils, Burgoyne came up with reinforcements, and the Green Mountain Boys were compelled to fight and win the battle a second time. During this second struggle, he was brought within easy range of one of Burgoyne's pieces of artillery, from which two heavy charges of grape-shot were sent all around him, furlowing the ground at his feet, and cutting the bushes at each side of him and over his head, but leaving him unscathed.\* He continued in active military service till the surrender of Burgoyne, on which occasion he was present at the head of his company; and at several other times he, with his company, was under arms for a few days or weeks, as approaching danger might require.

In October 1778, when not quite twenty-six years old, he married Mary Chittenden, daughter of Gov. Thomas Chittenden, by whom he had five sons and four daughters.†

In March 1781 he was elected Sheriff of the County of Bennington. The duties of the office at that early period of the history of Vermont were onerous and perplexing to the very last degree. The great mass of the people were extremely poor and deeply in debt,

\* In this battle, the life of one of Galusha's men was preserved in a somewhat remarkable manner. He came in contact with a tory, with whom he had previously been acquainted, and a hand-to-hand conflict ensued, in which the tory succeeded in throwing him to the earth, and was just about to inflict a fatal wound. Just at that moment a Hessian soldier came running towards them, and, in his haste, mistaking the character of the combatants, run the tory through with his bayonet and released the whig. Much to the Hessian's surprise, he soon found himself a prisoner to the man whose life he had preserved.

† She was born in 1758 and died 20 April 1794. Their children were, 1. Clarissa, b. 9 Sept 1779, m. Dr. Daniel Huntington, d. May 1823. — 2. Mary, b. 23 May 1782, m. Norman Hinsdill, d. 31 May 1827 — 3. Jonas, b. 17 July 1783, m. Electa Hinsdill, d. 2 June 1861. — 4. Nancy, b. 28 December 1784, m. Asa Billings of Royalton, d. 16 October 1845. — 5. Truman, b. 30 September 1788, m. 1st. 17 Sept. 1808, Lydia Loomis, (d. 27 June 1818,) and 2d., 23 Dec. 1819, Hannah Chittenden, a daughter of Noah Chittenden and grand-daughter of Gov. Thomas Chittenden. She died 29 May 1828. By the first wife he had two sons and one daughter, and by the second, one son and three daughters. In 1823 he removed to Jericho, and became and continued to be a leading man in the town and county. He was the representative of Jericho in the General Assembly in 1827, 1828, and 1830, a member of the Constitutional Convention in 1836 and 1843, and a Judge of Chittenden County Court in 1849 and 1850. He was once a candidate for Con-

and their unfortunate condition was greatly aggravated by the want of a cash market for their produce, and by the depreciation of the currency which took place at the close of the Revolutionary War. The laws, too, for the collection of debts were very severe, not only subjecting all the debtor's property, except the barest necessities, to attachment and execution, but making his person liable to imprisonment, with no possibility of release but by paying the debt. \* The criminal laws were also cruel and inhuman. Among the punishments which they authorized were, whipping, setting in the stocks, cutting off the ears, and branding with a red-hot iron. † There is still extant in the Secretary of State's office, an account of Jonas Galusha against the State, to the amount of £10, 4s. 6d. for executing the sentence of the Supreme Court upon Abel Geer, by cutting off his right ear and branding him upon the forehead with the letter C.

Besides these things, of themselves sufficient to make the office of sheriff disagreeable to a man of ordinary sensibilities, there were at that time political disturbances which greatly increased the labors and responsibilities of the office, and made it still more irksome. The State had been organized only a short time, and opposition to its authority was still made in

grass, but just before the election he declined in favor of another candidate. He died 12 June 1869. 6. Elon, b. 18 June 1790, m. Betsey Bottom. In 1811 and 1812 he studied law with Hon. Richard Skinner, but, becoming a Christian, he turned his attention to the study of Theology, became a Baptist minister, and was soon known as an eloquent and effective preacher. His first settlement was in Whitesboro. N. Y., in 1816, and he continued there sixteen years. During a part of that time he was agent for Columbia College, D. C., and had great success in raising funds for it. He was among the most active of the founders of Hamilton Theological Seminary, and spent about a year in its service at the time of its greatest embarrassment. In 1832 he became pastor of the Broad Street Baptist Church in Utica, went thence to Rochester, and at a later period was for several years pastor in Perry. In 1840 he visited England in behalf of a philanthropic enterprise in which he was interested. In 1841 he became pastor in Lockport, and continued there till his death, 6 January 1866. He was a man of fine pulpit talents, of gentlemanly manners, of an eminently benevolent spirit, and of distinguished usefulness in his denomination. His remarkable success in procuring donations for religious and charitable purposes gained for him the sobriquet—"King of Beggars."—7. Martin, b. 18 January 1792, m. 20 September 1815, Almira Cobb, removed to the State of New York in 1818, and is still living in Rochester.—8. Sophia, b. January 1794, d. 16 April 1794.—9. Jonas, who died in infancy.

\* Slade's State Papers, p. 320, 362, 458.  
† Ib., p. 338.

some places, particularly in the South part of Windham County, where an active and stubborn, if not numerous party upheld the jurisdiction of New York. Conciliatory measures having failed to bring these men to submission, a coercive policy was adopted. Several of the leaders were arrested, tried by the Supreme Court, and banished from the State, under penalty of death if they returned. One of these had accepted from Gov. Clinton of New York a commission as Sheriff of Cumberland County, and two others had accepted commissions as Colonel and Lt. Colonel of an imaginary regiment of militia in the same County. After their banishment, they were encouraged by Gov. Clinton, with promises of support and military protection, to return to Vermont, defy its authority, and attempt to overthrow its government. From time to time, as they made themselves obnoxious, they were arrested, and committed to jail in Bennington; and during most of the year 1783 and a part of 1784, one or more of them was almost continually in jail. They were allowed the free use of their pens, and used them freely in letters and newspaper articles defaming the sheriff, jailer, and all other Vermont officials, and laboring to excite popular sympathy in their own favor.

It was not a little to Mr. Galusha's credit that, in the midst of peculiar trials and responsibilities, he so acquitted himself in the Sheriff's office as to command the confidence of the government and people, and to retain the office till he parted with it by voluntary resignation. There was in his character a blending of the energetic with the urbane, by which he commended

himself to all with whom he had official intercourse. He had an instinctive knowledge of human nature, and so great skill in managing men that he rarely failed of bringing the most refractory to his own terms. On one occasion when he went to serve a process, the respondent seized an axe, and swore he would take the sheriff's life sooner than be arrested. Mr. Galusha was unarmed, except with a slender stick, but assured the man that he would teach him better than to threaten his life, and would have him in irons in less than an hour. Partly by reasoning and partly by jesting, he talked the axe out of the man's hand, and accomplished the arrest within the time limited. On another occasion, the respondent armed himself with a walnut club, and backed into a corner of the room, declaring that he would not be taken. "Yes, you will," replied Galusha, "but I'm in no hurry." "No," was the quick response, "I will not be taken alive." "Then," said Galusha, "you need to be better armed than with a club. I will give you a chance to get your gun and bayonet, and then I'll take you; but I'm sorry to say that I've nothing but a summons to take you with." The man, ashamed of having made such a demonstration against a harmless writ of summons, speedily threw down his weapon and submitted to the process. One of the last of his official acts was the dispersal of a party of "Shay's men," who, upon the suppression of Shay's rebellion in Massachussets, fled to Vermont early in 1787, and called a meeting at Shaftsbury, for the purpose of setting on foot a similar movement in this State. Mr. Galusha, in company with Gideon Olin, and other prominent citizens, attend-

ed the meeting, warned them of the danger to which they were exposing themselves by their illegal proceedings, and notified them to quit the town forthwith. In the spring of 1787, he resigned the office, having held it six years.

He was not again in public life till 1792, when he was elected a member of the second Council of Censors, the first that met after the admission of Vermont into the Union. This body proposed several material changes in the Constitution, among which were the establishment of a Senate, and of an advisory Council of four, and the limitation of the right of representation to towns having not less than forty families. He used all his influence in favor of these propositions, both in the Council and with the people, but none of them secured the popular assent. In 1793 he was elected a member of the Governor's Council, a body of twelve men, clothed with powers which rendered it nearly equivalent to a co-ordinate branch of the legislature. By successive elections, he held this office six years, 1793-98. In the mean time, his wife had died, and he had married, as his second wife, Patty Sammons, daughter of Timothy Sammons of Huntington, L. I. \*

In 1795 he was elected an assistant Judge of Bennington County Court, and held the office three years. The legislature of 1798, which met at Vergennes, was strongly federal in politics, and as that party had not been in power for many years, its appetite for office had become ravenous in the extreme. Democratic officeholders were removed and their places supplied with

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\* She was born in 1764, and died, childless, 10 November 1797. Her death was thus noticed in a cotemporary newspaper,—“In Shaftsbury, Nov. 10, 1797, Mrs. Patty Galusha, the amiable consort of Jonas Galusha.”

federalists, with such an unsparing hand, that the place, where the sessions of this body were held, was long known by the name of "the Vergennes slaughter-house." Mr. Galusha was one of the victims, but when his party regained the ascendancy in 1800, he was restored to the judgeship, and remained in the office seven years, 1800-06. Having been a frequent attendant upon the sessions of the legislature, he was asked why he never came as representative. "Because the freemen do not advise me to," was his reply. In 1800, however, the freemen of Shaftsbury gave him that advice, and he took his seat in the House of Representatives, but on the morning of the second day he resigned his seat, informing the House that he had been elected a Councillor, and had accepted the office. He remained a member of the Council seven successive years, 1800-06.

He was elected a Judge of the Supreme Court in 1807 and again in 1808. This was perhaps the highest tribute that could have been paid to his sound judgment and incorruptible integrity, for he had none of the legal learning usually regarded as an indispensable qualification for that office. His associates on the bench were Judges Tyler and Harrington, both of them remarkable men; the former for his classical learning, high literary culture, ready wit, and prolific authorship; the latter for his prodigious native powers of mind and his entire lack of cultivation. Judge Galusha occupied a position between the two, having neither the polish of Tyler, nor the strength of Harrington, but a practical common sense which made him as useful and acceptable a judge as either

of them. He was on the bench during the celebrated trial of the crew of the "Black Snake," a smuggling vessel on Lake Champlain, whose crew had an affray with a party of revenue officers, and killed two of them; and he charged the jury in that case. In 1807, he was elected, on the part of the Council, United States Senator for the unexpired term of Israel Smith, but he failed to receive the concurrent vote of the House of Representatives.

His third wife, whom he married in June 1808, died in 1809.\* The same year he was chosen an Elector of President and Vice President, and with his colleagues, gave the vote of Vermont to James Madison. He was chosen an Elector in 1821, and voted for James Monroe; and in 1825 and 1829, when he voted for John Quincy Adams. The popularity of Isaac Tichenor, who had been governor for eleven years, made it expedient for the republicans to nominate as his opposing candidate in 1809 the man who enjoyed the largest measure of confidence, and could command the greatest number of votes. That man was Jonas Galusha, and with him as their leader the republican party was successful in that campaign. He was re-elected in 1810, 1811, and 1812. In his speech to the legislature in 1812, he urged the adoption of measures co-operating with the general government in carrying on the war with Great Britain, as well as providing for the defence of Vermont against possible invasion from Canada. His recommendations were adopted,

\* Her name was Abigail Ward, b. 1770, d. 6 May 1809. She had one child, Abigail, b. 15 April 1800.

and the requisite laws were enacted, but they were so oppressive in their practical operation, that many of the people went over to the federal party. At the election in 1813, he had a large plurality of the votes, but not a majority. The majority of the returned members of the legislature, upon which the election was thus devolved, were republicans, there being four federal majority in the House, and ten republican majority in the Council. But the federal leaders were shrewd and not over-scrupulous, and, finding that by rejecting the entire vote of Colchester for councillors, upon the pretence that a large number of votes had been polled illegally by United States soldiers stationed there, three more federal councillors would be elected and the Joint Assembly brought to a tie, they decided to do so, and the federal majority in the House carried out their purposes in that regard. The Joint Assembly balloted a number of times every day for more than a week without effecting a choice, till at length, on the 21st day of October, the votes were declared to be one hundred and twelve for Martin Chittenden, and one hundred and eleven for Jonas Galusha. The one hundred and twelve republican members immediately signed a certificate that they did, each of them, on that ballot, vote for Jonas Galusha, and claimed that the apparent result should be set aside and another ballot be taken. But the federal majority in the House refused to take any further action, and Martin Chittenden was declared Governor. There is good reason to believe that the result of the ballot was correctly declared, only one hundred and eleven persons in fact voting for



Galusha, and Oliver Ingham of Canaan having withheld his vote. By what means he was induced to do so it is impossible now to ascertain.

In 1814 Mr. Galusha was the delegate from Shaftsbury to the Constitutional Convention. After the restoration of peace with Great Britain, many of the causes which had agitated the people of Vermont ceased to exist, and the republican party regained their ascendancy. Mr. Galusha continued to be their candidate for governor, and in 1815 he was elected by a handsome majority. His speech to the legislature judiciously avoided all topics that could rekindle the expiring embers of party spirit. He alluded in suitable terms to the close of war and the grateful return of peace, but employed himself mainly with the business of the State. He was re-elected, year by year, by constantly increasing majorities, till 1819, when his competing candidate had only a few more than a thousand votes. He then announced his determination to remain no longer in public life, and in this he persisted, though urged to the contrary, not only by his political friends, but by many of the adverse party. The legislature adopted and presented an address, in which they said—"In discharging the duties of "councillor, judge, and governor, you have ever "merited and received the approbation of your fellow "citizens." He was earnestly requested to be a candidate for the United States Senate, which had he been, his election was morally certain, but he rejected the honor, nor did he again ever hold office, except that in 1822, he was again a member of the Constitutional Convention, and the President of that body. A few

years before, he had married his fourth wife, Mrs. Nabby (Atwater) Beach, \* and he now retired to private life, in which he enjoyed a serene and honored old age, till having nearly attained his eighty-second year, he died, 25 September 1834. †

In person, Gov. Galusha was rather stoutly built, about five feet and nine inches in height, and at the same time of a very active temperament, as was indicated by his light complexion, blue eyes, and light hair inclining to be sandy. His dress was the plain but neat dress of a respectable farmer, who had mingled much with his fellow men, and was neither ignorant nor unmindful of the requirements of society. In conversation he was ready, though not copious, and he had a vein of humor which rendered him very agreeable socially. He was fond of domestic life, and singularly fortunate in his domestic relations. The four wives whom he successively married were cheerful, amiable, and pious women, and he lived with them in harmony and happiness. His children were well trained, and all of them who survived childhood became professors of religion, one of them an eminent minister in the Baptist denomination.

Though not himself a member of any church, he was, in the estimation of those best competent to judge, a true Christian. He maintained family worship in all its forms, was known to observe private devotions, was an habitual attendant upon public worship and at social meetings, and frequently took an active part in

\* His marriage was thus announced in one of the papers of that day:—"In Cavendish, Feb. 24, 1818, Jonas Galusha, and Mrs. Nabby Beach, a lady of unblemished reputation, and possessing in an eminent degree, those amiable female virtues, whose price is far above rubies." She was born 2 April 1764, and died 30 July 1831.

† His funeral sermon, which is still extant in manuscript, was preached by the Rev. Warham Walker, from 2 Sam. 3: 38. "Know ye not that there is a prince and a great man fallen this day in Israel?"

the latter. In his daily life he was also such as a Christian should be, modest, gentle, amiable, upright, faithful to every obligation. He was the first Governor of Vermont, who introduced the word CHRIST into the date of his proclamations. When nearly seventy-nine years of age, he attended a "protracted meeting" at Manchester, and took an active part in its exercises; as the result of which, he was aroused to a sense of the duty of making a public profession of religion, and announced his intention to do so, but was prevented from accomplishing his purpose by a stroke of paralysis which he experienced soon after, and from which he never recovered. During the protracted sickness which ensued, his cheerfulness, patience, resignation, and Christian conversation bore witness to the genuine piety that was in his soul.

Integrity and impartiality were such marked traits in his character that he was not seldom chosen as an arbitrator even by his enemies. His forbearance was such that he never resented an injury, but endeavored by his words and actions to make his enemies his friends. Benevolence to the poor was another of his distinguishing characteristics. He made their wants his own, and relieved them accordingly. It was no unusual thing for him, when, in the discharge of his official duties as sheriff, he had been made the instrument of reducing a poor man to still deeper poverty, to furnish the unfortunate debtor the means of extricating himself from embarrassment. He also gave freely to various benevolent societies, and took an active part in their affairs. He was President of the Bennington County Colonization Society, and Bible

Society, and one of the Vice-Presidents of the Vermont Bible Society. When the temperance reformation had proceeded as far as the total-abstinence movement, he gave his influence and example in its favor, and though he was far advanced in years, and had, all his life-time, been accustomed to the moderate use of alcoholic liquors, he at once abandoned the habit, though not without fear that the sudden change might affect him injuriously.

He was painfully conscious of the deficiencies of his early education, and feelingly alluded to them in his first executive address. But his quick perception, his retentive memory, his sound judgment, his ready wit, and his prompt command of all his intellectual powers and resources, were qualities which stood him in better stead, and more amply fitted him for his various duties, than the best scholastic education could have done without them. He had a rich fund of anecdote, upon which he drew frequently and with great effect. He was not addicted to public speaking, but could, when occasion required, express himself clearly and forcibly. His executive addresses were short, rarely exceeding in length four printed octavo pages, and frequently not more than half or two thirds as long. In style they were quite unadorned, but concise and perspicuous. To the contrary, his proclamations for Fasts and Thanksgivings were of unusual length; sometimes, indeed, nearly as long as his messages, indicating that he was more accustomed to thinking and writing upon religious subjects than upon political affairs.

Politically he was a democrat of the Jeffersonian school, and it may shed some light upon the pedigree of modern parties, to notice, that, without any change of his political views, he voted successively for Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, and Adams. Though in office nearly all the time for forty years, he was not an office-seeker. Rather did office seek him, on account of his eminent fitness for it. He accepted it from a sense of duty rather than from choice, and while in it sought to secure the public good rather than his own. Perhaps Vermont has never had a governor more worthy of the eulogy which Fulke Greville pronounced upon Sir Henry Sidney:—"He was such a governor as sought not to make an end of the State for himself, but to plant his own ends in the prosperity of his country."

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## THE SOURCES OF NEW-ENGLAND CIVILIZATION.

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BY REV. J. E. RANKIN, CHARLESTOWN, MASS.

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COUNTRIES may be sliced up into distinct territories by the conqueror's sword, as is the fashion in Europe; but, they cannot be thus constituted into nationalities. Like the pine or the oak, a true nationality is a growth; a thing not to be made by the re-adjustment of the political balances, or the change of territorial landmarks, but by a slow process of development, to make itself. Plant the pine-cone and the acorn upon the sunny slope of some of your own green hills, now so gorgeous in their glory, can you make the cone produce the oak, or the acorn the pine? Can you substitute the murmuring needles of the one, for the shapely and classic foliage of the other? No more can you change one nation into another; no more can you, out of given materials, manufacture a homogeneous nation;—a nation, with a history, with institutions, with an ideal consistent with itself, and reproducing the same national characteristics, generation after generation. No less than the oak and the pine, such a product, such an intellectual, social and political

power is a growth. And it is a growth, not merely from the germ of the original seed; it is a growth which has drawn to itself, and fed upon, the elements of the soil in which it has been imbedded; a growth, which has topped itself out into a thousand lungs, to breathe in the atmosphere of heaven around it, which has lifted up a thousand open hands, to catch the sunlight and the rain from heaven above it, and which, shooting downward, has hardened, and strengthened and entrenched itself against a thousand beating tempests in the earth beneath it.

Humboldt says, that the current produced by the passage of the waters of the Orinoco, between the South American continent and the island of Trinidad, is so powerful, that ships with all their canvas spread, and with a westerly breeze in their favor, can scarcely make their way against it; and that the presence of this mighty movement of waters convinced Columbus that he approached a continent, since only a continent could be the nurse of such a river. Widespread over this country, as are American institutions, no thoughtful mind can doubt the shaping and controlling influence in them, of NEW ENGLAND CIVILIZATION, wherever, and just in proportion as this civilization has been permitted to make itself felt. It is my present purpose, to indicate some of the sources of this civilization; for, if only the mountain-ranges and table-lands and plains of a continent are sufficient to produce the Orinoco, back of this all-pervading, ubiquitous New England Civilization, there must be something worthy of our study.

The first source of New England Civilization, is manifestly New England history. There are those who regard historical studies and pursuits with contempt. With them, a thing that is past, is done with. What care they, when or by whom a country was discovered, settled, cleared and civilized, provided these things have been accomplished sometime, and by some one? But, the truth is, the history of a nation must always exert a sovereign influence over its destiny. A name, a locality, an event of the past, may do more toward determining the character and tendency of the present, than all the most ambitious and princely spirits of a generation. Says Vinet, "Eminent men do one work, and their memory does another; often, indeed, the work of their memory is "the most durable and best." It is the province of history to embalm and transmit this memory, that it may have an opportunity to do its legitimate work.

It is true, that the very deeds of the founders of States are, in themselves, immortal; have a direct work to do, even to the end of time. But, the influence of many a public act is, in itself, temporary, while the influence of its memory never can be estimated. The discovery of America, by Columbus, was an event, the influence of which never will cease to be felt. That single resolute man, whose faith was the substance of things hoped for, and the evidence of things not seen, so put his hand to the helm of the world's progress, that it will never lose the impulse imparted. But, full of sublimity and tender interest, as is the history of this event, it does not live as a vital force in the memory of men, as many a lesser



one. A few discoverers, a few scientific men, may be inspired by it; a few more may be comforted in their discouragements. The deed, and not the memory, does the greater work. The achievement, the opening of this vast continent to the enterprise and civilization of the old world, the linking of the old world and the new, in intercourse, in commerce, in nationalities, in history, and lately, almost in space, obliterating the very ocean that he crossed: this is what Columbus accomplished. He found a place, too, for the Great Republic of the future. This was his work.

There were others who came to this continent a century and a half later, exiles for conscience' sake, from their native land, who founded this Republic, for which he had provided a place. I shall not be understood as speaking disparagingly of the work of Columbus, when I say, that in grandeur of moral results, this work was greater than his. The little ship from Delft-Haven, outweighed the Spanish fleet from Palos. It was given to him to open a new world, of whose vastness, whose beauty, whose richness of structure and imperial future, even he had little conception. It was permitted to them, to determine the institutions, social, civil and political, which should preponderate in this new world, to establish that type of civilization, which should impress itself upon all future generations. If Columbus discovered a new world, if he opened up a pathway through the waters to its unknown shores, if he drew towards it the thoughts and the enterprise of the older nations of the earth; it was theirs, to enter into a successful competition with the various types of civilization that

appeared here, and to triumph over them all; it was theirs, so far as institutions are concerned, to *create* a new world, the model of which they brought over in the cabin of the Mayflower; as adventurers now carry ready-made dwellings to California.

They live in their deed: but they live also in their memory. The wake of their little vessel, winged by faith, will always be a pathway of light to the eyes of the future. It still stands anchored, no spectral ship, in Plymouth harbor. The pen of the historian and the poet, and the tongue of the eloquent, have never ceased, and will never cease, to do them honor, and to perpetuate their memory. That memory will live and do its work to the end of time. A moral atmosphere goes forth from it, that every man born in New England must breathe. He may not like the Pilgrims; he may invidiously intimate, that they had an eye to the cod-fisheries of the new world, as well as to its natural temples; a conclusion which might possibly be drawn *a posteriori* from the characteristics of some of their children. But, still, he will see that in their character and work which he will be compelled to honor, which will impress itself upon his own spirit and inspire his life. He cannot stand upon that Rock, once trodden by Carver and Brewster and Standish, fresh from the baptism of a winter sea, without thanking God for such ancestors, and praying that he may not prove unworthy of them, or unfaithful to what they committed to the keeping of their children.

And so of the events of the revolution. Can a citizen of New England escape the influence of such names and places as Lexington and Concord, as

Bennington and Saratoga? Can he walk among the ruins of Ticonderoga, which, for her unnatural sister, the heroism of Vermonters wrested from the grasp of the foe, without recalling that stalwart figure, now immortalized in stone at the entrance of your own Capitol, of him, who once stood with uplifted sword, at the gate of that fortress, and demanded its surrender in the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress; two powers then joined together, not now to be put asunder! Can he stand upon the remnants of the old entrenchment where Warren fell, and not see his noble daring, his longing, lingering look, at the field that was lost? Ah! these memories are the most precious heir-looms that New Englanders have! Let suitable monuments mark such hallowed spots! Let the sculptor and the painter reproduce these historic personages, these attitudes, these deeds that can never die. Let the annals of the past be gathered up and treasured for our children, as the best security of the future. New England civilization will thus continue to be the outgrowth of New England history. And, as we see the same features and characteristics repeating themselves here and there, in the development of individual families, so our Warrens and our Allens will re-appear in our Winthrops and our Stannards to the end of time.

The second source of New England Civilization is New England climate and soil. Notwithstanding the rare original elements in it, New England Civilization would have been possible, only upon New Eng-

land soil; only in New England latitude. If the seeds of this civilization had been planted in the rich loam of Virginia, instead of the barren sands of Plymouth; if they had found a more genial latitude and a more generous nurture; escaping the long winters and easterly storms, the sterile and rocky hills of New England, the result would have been far different. We talk about overcoming the infelicities of climate, of subduing nature to productiveness, as though the direct victory were the great achievement; as though to make two blades of grass grow where one grew before, to double the bushels of wheat or corn or potatoes that an acre produces, to invent a mower or a reaper which shall do the work of a half-dozen men, to convert a neglected waterfall into a mill-site, or to make it give impulse to a thousand dashing shuttles or ten thousand whirring spindles, were the grand result of our efforts. There is a moral victory grander than this. The noblest result is the development of certain qualities in the victor. We triumph over the soil, the climate, the natural disadvantages which we encounter. But, these infelicities as we call them, put us to tuition also. We develop the possibilities of Nature. We none the less develop the possibilities of our own nature. The valleys bearded with wheat, or bristling with corn, the hills covered with flocks and herds, the streamlets and rivers vocal with the hum of industry and thrift: these constitute one result of our encounter with nature. But there is an intellectual and moral result, which is far more valuable. Habits of thought, of industry, of self-reliance, of persistent endeavor are acquired in this school. I hesitate not to determine,

which is the most beautiful object of contemplation, the broad meadows or graceful hill-sides, with clustered maples, which, in your own Vermont, one man has spent a lifetime in reducing to beauty and fertility, or the character, which this constant struggle with Nature and the elements has developed in himself; the calm and comprehensive judgment, the serene trust, the healthful sense of self-approval, and those other sturdy qualities so characteristic of the thorough yeomen of New England. There is no truer hero, there is no truer sage, frequently there is no truer saint, than such a man. If, therefore, it was a happy thing for the destinies of this continent, that our ancestors were such men as they were, so loyal to truth and to God, so severe in the simplicity of their faith and their manners, it was no less happy that they landed upon the "stern and rock-bound coast" of New England; fit school for fit pupils. The rough sea having for long months rocked them upon her Spartan bosom, kindly brought them to their no less Spartan nursery of a future empire.

This insensible, this reflex influence of climate, soil and scenery upon national character, is almost wholly ignored and neglected; in the choice of a residence, is so frequently counted for nothing. It is frequently said, in a half-sneering way, that New England is a good place to emigrate from. And so a man tears up from its native bed the roots of his household; leaves upon the hill-side the graves of his ancestors; sunders the tie that binds himself and his children to the cloud-land, the sun-sets, the mountains and the lakes of his native region, and seeks a new home in the the ever-

receding land of the West. Ah! the prairies may bloom ever so sweetly, their undulations may be ever so liquid and ocean-like as the breath of the wind sweeps across their yielding surface, the rivers may move their vast volumes ever so grandly to the Gulf, the cities and towns may spring up, as if by magic, around him, but all their physical and material advantages shall be more than counterbalanced by what he has lost, by what he has done violence to, in the change. The sacrifice may be a matter of necessity or duty, but it is none the less a sacrifice. New England is a good place to emigrate from, for it is a good place to give the founders of empires their preparatory training. Its mountains are good places from which to quarry out the corner or foundation-stones of States. But, such changes involve the loss of what can never be estimated by money-standards, of what can never be replaced by wealth and social influence.

The language of natural scenery may not be easily translatable into words; but it has a meaning. It speaks directly to the soul. Says one of the most eminent naturalists that ever lived: "That which the painter designates by the expressions 'Swiss scenery,' or 'Italian sky,' is based on a vague feeling of the local natural character. The azure of the sky, the effects of light and shade, the haze floating on the distant horizon, the forms of animals, the succulence of plants, the bright, glossy surface of the leaves, the outline of mountains, all combine to produce the elements on which depends the impression of any one region." The emigrant from New England, Westward, goes out from the influence of such a natural atmosphere, by

which he has been surrounded from infancy, by which he has been taught new conceptions of beauty, by which he has been inspired to perform many a forbidding duty, or braced up to many a difficult undertaking. He cannot transfer to his new home these sterner aspects of nature, whose inarticulate language has been to him like the voice of an unwearying and sleepless monitor; nor can he transport the rugged soil that has a thousand times broken or rejected his plowshare; nor the short seasons, that have driven him to provident and industrious husbandry; nor the small profits, that have rendered him faithful to particulars and a snug calculator. He cannot take with him, the mountain range, that has cast its morning or evening shadow of protection upon the little farm that nestled along the water-brook beneath it, or crept up to its cold and forbidding shoulder; where he has watched the tender-leaved Spring as she has put on her garments of green; the Summer in her mature beauty; the Autumn in her crimson richness; the Winter, as she walked in white. He goes out from the influence of all these inanimate faces of Nature and Nature's God. They have given him their blessing from his earliest infancy. They give him a reluctant, almost reproving, benediction now. But they go not with him. He cannot import them. When our young men are urged to follow the star of empire across the Mississippi, to embark their energies in the great enterprises of the West, even though New England farms and hamlets become a desolation, or go into the possession of the alien, shall we not remind them, that when they have left behind their backs the soil, the climate, the scenery of their

native region, they have forsaken the surroundings in which New England characteristics have had their natural development; which are the natural conservators of these characteristics? The brilliancy of a gem sometimes depends as much upon its setting as upon itself. It is the setting and the stone combined, that produce the effect sought. And New England character has its true surroundings among its own green and granite hills, its lakes that flash like a mirror in the sunlight, and its rivers that go enriching its intervalles down to the gray old Ocean, that daily baptizes anew its Eastern shores.

A third source of New England Civilization, are New England Institutions. And these, of course, are the family, the school, the church and the state. In New England, each of these has a peculiar stamp and type; and, therefore, exerts a peculiar influence. Men talk about institutions, just as they talk about climate and soil; as though the grand object in establishing them, consisted in what we can make them to be, and not in what they do for us. We talk about men's making institutions. But institutions make men, as well; just as, and even more than climate, scenery, soil.

It is saying scarcely too much, to claim that a nation is formed in the cradle of its infants. At any rate, the true statesman must admit, that the family is the moral nursery of the state; that before leaving the care of its mother, the little child already has, in embryo, the qualities that will distinguish him as a citizen. If he is to prove true to his obligations to his fellow citi-



zens, he has already shown it in the miniature commonwealth of which he is a member; if he is to be a law-breaker, he has already deserved and had foretastes of the cell and the dungeon. I am not speaking here of tendencies, but of determined character. The mother sometimes trembles at the exhibition of passion, of which some of her little brood are capable. She trembles, not so much for the present as the future. Such outbreaks are comparatively safe, in this realm of love over which she presides. She mingles pity and the persuasive eloquence of her own tender eye, with her efforts at restraint. But, the tribunal of society is not made up of such stuff as mothers are. Society has little patience with offenders; while its attempts to restrain criminals, are frequently so administered as to confirm them in their downward courses. The many recommitments for the same or worse crimes, tell fearfully against the practicability of really reforming men in prisons and houses of correction. It is the good family that makes the child the good citizen. And our schools of reform are practically valuable, only in proportion as they can be made to assume the character and impart the influences of the family.

New England families have been, and are still, in some good measure, peculiar for the exercise of parental authority and restraint over the tastes and tendencies, the character and habits of children. Law is the same in the domestic circle, as in the government of man, as in the government of God. Of these two governments, our children and youth are prospective citizens and subjects. I enter upon no defence of

parental severity, or arbitrariness. Let there be as much of reason and love in parental government, as is possible. But, I insist that there must be government; that the sovereignty of law must be recognized and inculcated, or the family is untrue alike to the government of man and to the government of God. And to my mind, one of the most discouraging aspects of our own time is the ridicule and decline of parental government on the part of so many of our native-born, and the almost total abuse and perversion of it, on the part of nearly all our foreign-born citizens. If obedience to law be not taught at home, it is almost never taught. And if obedience to law be not taught, liberty is a curse, and the larger it is, the greater the curse.

I repeat it: The individual family is the first type of civil government, the first school of the future citizen. And were our families what they should be, did they furnish the proper preliminary training, every child born in an American household, whether in mansion or hut, in city or hamlet, on hill-top or prairie, would ordinarily grow up to become a useful, industrious and loyal member of the body politic. Let us suppose, now, that it is well enough with the children of New England parentage; that they are brought up in the good old style of the fathers, or even a better one, if you prefer. How is it with those children of foreigners, those children who have no New England home; who have no persons that can be properly called either parents or guardians; who never knew the language of parental love or parental reproof, except that of objurgation and reproach; and who are never taught childhood prayers or childhood hymns of praise; who

have neither table, hearth nor altar, around which they ever gather in the capacity of a family; who have examples of intemperance, Sabbath-breaking and other vices, set them by those who are their divinely-appointed instructors; among whom theft and lying and profanity are commonplace occurrences: how is it, with this not inconsiderable, and rapidly increasing element in New England Civilization? These boys and girls, standing upon the street-corners of our cities; appearing in all our larger towns and villages; these boys and girls, whose tongues are ready with the keenest slang or repartee for the luckless pedestrian, who ventures to remonstrate upon an obstructed sidewalk, or a poor forlorn cat with a tin pail at her tail, fleeing away from a shower of paving-stones: how shall they be saved to themselves and to the State? According to our theory of government, we cannot dispose of the morally deformed, as the Spartans did of the physically deformed. We are compelled to take them into our Civilization. Every citizen, be he blessed or cursed by his parentage, is a living stone, that must go up into our civil structure. And I confess, that I fear less the domination and intrigues of ecclesiastics; I fear less the influence of a religious system, whose very theory and structure are anti-democratic, are anti-republican, than the fact that the children of our foreign-born citizens have not the blessed influences of a New England home; are not taught reverence for truth and reverence for God, as it is customary for the children of New England parentage to be taught.

There were grand elements, doubtless, the grandest possibilities, in the boy Daniel Webster. But, who shall say, how much his greatness of character, how much his peerless achievement, was owing to those Psalms of David which he so wonderfully recited to the passing traveler, in that humble cottage of his father, amid New Hampshire forests, on the banks of the Merrimack; was owing to the serious views of life taught him by a father, whom he so deeply revered; by a mother, whom he loved with all the strength of his magnificent nature? New England homes lie at the basis of New England Civilization. There may be homely fare, there may be ingenious devices to make "auld claes look amaisht as weel's the new;" to make the two ends of the year meet, with a little to lay by for that rainy day which, in fancy, always hangs over the New England future: but you will usually find there, thoughtful views of life and of life's work; young minds and young hearts full of noble aspirations, and a resolute determination to live to some purpose, in one's day and generation.

Next removed from the New England family stands the New England school. I speak here of the common, the public school; my limits forbid any allusion to higher institutions. The New England school is almost as peculiar as the New England family; an institution as influential, not merely or mainly because of the amount of instruction imparted, though in it, enough of this may be accomplished to make almost any position of future eminence attainable; an institution, whose general diffusion and annual expendi-

tures teach the estimate which the State puts upon intelligence; an institution, where children are early brought into those relations of comparison and competition, which so largely determine the future of American men and women; an institution, in which self-denying laborers secretly and wisely and painfully build up those structures of human character, upon which the society of the next generation is to rest: like the coral-insects, themselves contented never to appear above the surface, except in the islands of tropical greenness which finally round out and embellish their patient endeavor. I think the eminent statesman, above alluded to, never wrote a more touching, or eloquent letter, than that penned from the chair of State in Washington, to his old master Tappan, thus closing:

"I thank you again, my good old schoolmaster, for your kind letter, which has awakened many sleepless recollections; and with all good wishes, I remain your friend and pupil,

DANIEL WEBSTER."

It is said that before the advent of the Messiah, every Jewish mother hailed the birth of a son, as the possible Desire of all nations. Oh! ye toilers, day after day, and week after week, and month after month, and year after year, in the school-rooms of New England, be not discouraged; despise not your work. Doubtless there are those, under your self-denying tuition, whose future eminence, intellectual and moral, shall gild your old age with a glory like that which the fame of New England's greatest

statesman shed upon the gray locks of old Master Tappan. Toil on, amid the petty peevishness of parents, seeking to undo their errors, and to retrieve their mistakes ; toil on, through wet and dry, through heat and cold: there is no nobler work on earth than yours.

And precisely here is New England's hope respecting the children of her foreign-born citizens. Here, in our schools, may be in some measure accomplished, what has been neglected in many of our families. Our children may be taught the significance and sacredness of law. True, the most summary method of dealing with children that have been brow-beaten and scolded all their days, is to continue and intensify the same process; is to arm yourself with strap and rattan, to add to your vocabulary all the epithets of sarcasm and abuse in your power, and still persist in the attempt to exorcise poor human nature on the same line adopted by disciplinarians at home. Horace says that "nature will come back, though expelled with a fork:" he might have said, all the more *because* expelled with a fork. For, this is the kind of exorcism, which nature does the most resist. You cannot cast out Beelzebub by Beelzebub. You cannot reach moral results, by purely physical means. The regimen of treatment you adopt, will only intensify the warfare which there is in the child's bosom, against law as a merely outward restraint. You bring yourself down to the lower platform of the criminal code. In such a government as our own, what we most need among the people, is the sense and appreciation of law, as an invisible power and influence. As with the Divine government, so with the most perfect of human. It

is not constantly asserting itself. It is not constantly assuming terrible aspects, and thundering with its dark enginery of penalties. There is this dark background to all law, whether human or Divine; but, for the truest and highest style of obedience it is not adequate; it is not conducive to it. Children that have been kept from disobedience at home and at school, merely from the fear of physical punishment, may be kept from breaking laws by holding up before them the prospect of a term at the reform-school or in the state-prison. But, you thus institute a warfare between the child and law. He never learns to love law as a rule of right. In the ideal sense, he never becomes fit for citizenship. These future citizens must have moral education, or they never can be qualified for their duties to the State. And failing in this, at home, it must be furnished them in the public school. And infinitely above all acquisitions in Arithmetic, Geography or Grammar, is the coming to feel that law is a holy thing; and that to wage warfare with it, or with its ministers, is not only unsafe, but is a dishonor to themselves and an injury to the public weal, of which they themselves are soon to become a part.

The next institution indicated as a source of New England Civilization, is the Church. And, of course, this term is employed here in the most general manner. It means, that aggregate association, which represents, if it does not always include, the spiritual Kingdom of God among men; which accepts His law, as of present abiding force, and His ordinances as the

true instrumentality for making man what he should be, whether in his relations to his Maker or to his brother man. Of this association, of this kingdom, the Bible is the hand-book and exposition. Say what men will, think what they dare not say, in the last analysis, the Bible, and the influences which have proceeded from it, have shaped New England Civilization. That single day of rest in each week, a green island amid a melancholy waste of waters; that respite from the toils of this world, the sound of Sabbath bells, the proclamation of the truth; ah! no man can calculate what stability and serenity these influences have given to New England life. France tried a Republic, not only without the Bible and without a Sabbath, but trampling the Bible and the Sabbath and the immortality of the soul under foot; denying and repudiating them, and substituting an artificial and infidel division of time, for that which had been established by Jehovah. What was the result? I need not remind you. But you say, "France was not prepared for a Republic." With a Bible and a Sabbath, a Republic would have been far more feasible for France, than without them. With a New England Sabbath, a republic might have been possible, even in France.

God has never been without a witness in the institutions of New England; and amid all its variety, this is the basis of that seriousness in New England character, which has given it such a power over the destinies of the nation. This is the basis, too, of that love for human equality, which has now become and must always remain the predominant idea of this great



people. Says an acute French philosopher and divine: "The sentiment of human equality is always in exact proportion with the sentiment of God's presence; because we want a basis for man's respect for man, and this basis can be no other than God." Every sanctuary, therefore, in these New England valleys, or standing like a sentinel upon her hill-tops, has been a protest against the rights of man in human flesh and blood. And if those, who have frequented these sanctuaries, have sometimes been slower to discover this than your Garrison and your Wendell Phillips, still let the credit be given where it belongs. For, I believe, it was the religious sentiment of New England that originated and found expression in President Lincoln's Proclamation. It was the religious sentiment of the country, derived not from '*Liberators*' and '*Independents*,' though conveyed through them, and quickened by them, that carried us safely through the recent war; and which has lately given itself expression in such swollen tides of majority, against the policy of the man, whom the bullet of an assassin and not the ballots of the people put into the Presidential chair at Washington.

It has been said by Count Gasparin, and with great justice and force, that the Christian virtues that appear in the families of infidels, are to be ascribed, not to infidelity, but to the influence of that Christian civilization, in which these families had their growth; whose life-giving atmosphere they have breathed. If a man denies the truth of the Christian religion, and is yet evidently moulded by its spirit, Christianity and not infidelity deserves the credit. And so in the

advance of Christian civilization, men may be put forward as standard-bearers, may become the representatives of a Christian idea, who in other respects, think the thoughts and talk the dialect of pagans. Which shall have the credit of their Christian ideas, Paganism or Christianity? A few years ago, some of these very men, whom we now canonize, in political saintship, went about the country unchurching churches, pronouncing maledictions upon ministers and church-members, and execrating the Bible and the sanctuary. And, yet, all their boasted humanity, and more, was embraced in these words of the Author of Christianity: "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." And that their views have triumphed, is owing to that life and power, which they received from God and not from man.

The only remaining institution mentioned above, as the source of New England Civilization, is the State; a word intended to comprehend that system by which our rulers are elected, and our laws made and enforced.

Such a political system as that which prevails in this country, is a powerful educator of the people. Here, of course, comes in the mighty enginery of the press; discussing all topics that relate to the public welfare, recording criminal acts, the decisions of judges, the opinions of eminent men; in a word, causing the whole civil and political life of the people to become one moving panorama, upon which each citizen may look as often as he takes up the daily

news. The State, of course, is the resultant of the civilization of the people. The primary electors, the men who make, and the men who execute the laws, the men who determine judicial questions, are the offspring and the representatives of this civilization. And these embodiments of our civilization re-act upon that civilization itself. When Governor Andrew of Massachusetts delayed the execution of the Malden murderer, he confronted the civilization of the State, of which he was the chief Executive. Every man, woman and child, who knew of the crime, discussed his reasons for thus stepping in between the criminal and the penalty of the law, the sentence of the judge; aye, discussed anew, the whole theory of capital punishment.

All the great questions of public policy, which have been before the nation, during the last four or five years, have put the people to school; have taught them to scrutinize men and measures, to analyze the first principles of government. The re-organization of that portion of the nation lately in rebellion, will have cost the people and their rulers as much thought, will have educated them as much, as its original formation. We are coming to have clearer ideas of the genius of our institutions; of the meaning of the word citizen, and of the prerogatives of citizenship. The grand first principles of the Declaration of Independence, which, unfortunately for his memory, otherwise so resplendent, one of our gifted public men once stigmatized as a "glittering generality," after these long years, begins to take its place in the firmament of the nation's thought; begins to shine out

from the smoke of the battle-field with a heavenly lustre; just as there are stars of the first magnitude, which are thousands of years bringing their serene rays to bear upon the eyes of men. And what the nation does in general, each State does in particular. There are local interests constantly demanding examination; there are local questions constantly demanding discussion, which keep the public mind always upon the alert; which sharpen the perceptions, and modify or confirm the moral bias of the people.

Thus imperfectly have I attempted to pass under notice, some of the sources of New England civilization; some of the historical, the physical and moral forces that have thus far determined the distinctive character of New Englanders; a nationality no less real, because it has only imaginary national limits. It is a civilization of which New Englanders may well be proud. It is intelligent, it is moral, it is religious, it is heroic. And, surely, it is one of the offices of such an organization as that which I have the honor, this evening, to address, so to hold up before the eyes of the living, the civilization of the past—so to analyze its sources and to record its results,—as to awaken sufficient enthusiasm to transmit it unimpaired and improved, so far as it may be improved, to the generations that are to come.

No man can predict the future of this great nation. That its future will be grandly noble, or grandly disastrous, the events of the past render very apparent; and that New England will have her full share in determining this future, we cannot for one moment

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doubt. I began this discussion with an allusion to one of the great South American rivers; let me close it with an allusion to another, just visited and explored by the eminent naturalist, whose love for science has led him to expatriate himself from his native land, and who this evening stands in our modern Athens, in his somewhat broken, but most forcible and beautiful language, giving his report of that wonderful region. It is said of the Amazon, that for fifty miles seaward, she bears down and annihilates the tides of Old Ocean itself; giving her own color and freshness to the waters which she meets from another continent. So mighty, so diffusive, so decided, so individual, let the civilization of New England be in the future, and the civilization of the country is safe; there will be no lapsing back into barbarism; there will be onward progress, till His coming, whose kingdom knows not the metes and bounds of countries and times, but will be universal, and will endure forever!

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